727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

●721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugererо) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

[86] Chapter

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

●721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- [411] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs • 721 is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

● 721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace..

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held

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the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abahoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,

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701 provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one
651 per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

701 The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot
[721] collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

701 When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's
703 protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 534 ff.